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*The Supposed Variant of AH. 82, 7-14, 1042. Where is it?
Its Probable Contents.*—By STEPHEN LANGDON, Fellow of
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IN volume x. of PSBA., the Rev. C. J. Ball published the text of a Neo-Babylonian cylinder of three columns, of 64, 78 and 59 lines. The same has been edited by Mr. Ball in PSBA. xi., and by Hugo Winckler in KB. iii. 2, pp. 46-53. It has been transcribed by David McGee in BA. iii. pp. 534-539. The same has been edited by the writer of this article in his first volume of *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*.

This cylinder belongs to what I call "redacted contemporaneous documents." That class of documents is peculiar to the Neo-Babylonian school of scribes and was developed by them out of the standard form of composing documents before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. This evolution under Nebuchadnezzar consisted in taking the old form short cylinder, which had four short sections, and developing it into a long redaction. Thus for example (I choose here for illustration those inscriptions which until the appearance of the book above mentioned are most accessible), the short two-columned cylinder of Nabopolassar, published page 6 of KB. iii. 2 has four sections: Col. I 1-4, the hymn of introduction, forms the first section; Col. I 5-9 is the second; and Col. I 10-II 14 is the third. This inscription lacks the prayer at the end which in all documents of the Neo-Babylonian empire up to the evolution of a new type of composition constitutes the fourth section. That is, the rule was to begin the main body of the inscription with the word *i-nu-ma* "when," and after a short passage to give the apodosis beginning *i-nu-mi-šu* "then." The principal account begins with *i-nu-mi-šu*, and gives the work which the king wishes to record. This kind of document is contemporaneous with the work described by the *i-nu-mi-šu* section.

But early in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after many works had been completed and many short contemporaneous documents written, there arose a desire among the scribes to produce

documents which were more in the nature of history. Thus, when a work was finished, the scribes took occasion to recite all the previous works of the king before giving account of the work which had just been finished. In doing this they adhered strictly to the ancient formula *i-nu-ma* and *i-nu-mi-šu*, but after the word "when" was inserted a long list of all the previous works of the king. This list of works was generally made up on the basis of all the previous short documents. That is, this long section is a great redaction which took different arrangements with different redactors. When the redaction was finished, the scribe came to his contemporaneous account, which he began after the old style with *i-nu-mi-šu*. The first document of this kind which was produced in the Neo-Babylonian school is the so-called Grotefend Inscription I R. 65. Among the most noteworthy documents of this class are V R. 34 and AH. 82, 7-14, 1042.

These two later inscriptions have for their principal contemporaneous accounts the building of two temples to Gula, the former of E-har-sag-el-la in Babylon, and the other of E-ul-la in Sippar. Of these AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 is much later and is a redaction of I R. 34. This latter document is the last known document of this class which we have from this school, for the scribes soon after its composition commenced a new form of document, the first exemplar of which is the Wady Brissa inscription, and the last the East India House inscription; which is the very last of all the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions. This literary development is discussed at length in the book mentioned above and the period of this king is divided into historical sections. It is therefore unnecessary to go further into the discussion of the literary movement of this period; suffice it only to say that the documents of the Redacted Contemporaneous class belong to the years 600 to 592 approximately.

In a document of this class, naturally the section of most interest begins with *i-nu-mi-šu*, and was so arranged as to commence near the top of the third column. If we now turn to AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 (KB. iii. 2., p. 50), we find the principal section beginning with line 13 of the third column. This cylinder is edited in PSBA. xi., pp. 195-218, by Mr. Ball. On page 196 he gives variants of a cylinder which he says is one of the same class, which was afterwards sold to America before he

had finished collating it. As this cylinder is of great importance for the study of the literary development of this period as well as for historical purposes, I propose to discuss the variants and new extracts given us by Mr. Ball, with the hope of finding some one who knows where the cylinder is, so that we may have a text of it at once.

In order to make the structure of this inscription clear, I give here the structure of AH. 82, 7-14, 1042, in order to have a ground of comparison for the scattered remnants which Mr. Ball has given us. The contents of this inscription are as follows:

- (a) I 1-22, Hymn of introduction.
- (b) I 23-42, Works in Esagila, viz. E-ku-a, Kaḫilisug, E-zi-da of Esagila and the zikkurat E-temin-anki; works on E-zida of Borsa, especially its shrine E-mah-til-la.
- (c) I 43-53, Works done for the small temples in Babylon, viz. E-mah, E-nin-had-kalam-sum-ma, E-giš-šir-gal, E-har-sag-ella. E-nam-he, E-di-kud-kalama and E-kiku-garza.
- (d) I 54-II 18, Completion of Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, a third moat wall, a moat wall west of the city, the quays of the Euphrates and the Arahtu canal.
- (e) II 19-24, Building an embankment along the Euphrates.
- (f) II 25-34, Building the Great Eastern Wall.
- (g) II 35-71, Works done in foreign cities, viz. at Borsa, Kutha, Sippar, Bas, Dilbat, Marada, Erech, Larsa and Ur.
- (h) II 72-III 12, Secondary hymn.
- (i) III 14-51, Principal account; the rebuilding of E-ulla at Sippar to Gula.
- (j) III 52-58, Prayer to Gula.

In redacting previous documents the scribes of this school had one invariable rule; the works done on foreign cities had to come last before the principal section beginning with *i-nu-mi-su*, separated from it only by a secondary hymn; these are generally the finest literary passages in the inscriptions. As to the arrangement of the other parts, each scribe had his own plan, as may be seen from the analyses of all the inscriptions of this period in chapter two of *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*. Now if we examine the arrangement of the American cylinder through the collation which Mr. Ball has given us, we may reconstruct a large part of it as follows

(the text not being published it is impossible to give the numbers of the lines):

- (a) equals AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 Col. I 1-23.
- (b) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 I 23-53.
- (c) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 25-34.
- (d) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 19-24.
- (e) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 I 54-II 18.
- (f) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 35-71.

The plan of this scribe was then to invert sections *e* and *f* of his model and then to place *d* in the last position before the list of works on foreign cities. Up to section *g* of the model there is no other change made by this redactor except this new arrangement of sections. But the section on foreign cities has several insertions.

When the redactor arrives at II 58 of his model, he continues his account of the work at Kutha by giving an account of a temple to the spouse of Nergal, Nin-ki-gal, who is otherwise called Laz. This temple Eš-uru-gal to Nin-ki-gal of Kutha is not found in the Wady Brissa inscription, the last one we have of Nebuchadnezzar, which gives an account of works done on foreign cities. The latest inscriptions of this king, 85, 4-30, 1¹ and East India House inscription, do not give any works of Nebuchadnezzar outside of Babylon and Borsā. The sole evidence, then, that we can deduce for the date is that it is after the Wady Brissa inscription, and consequently after 586 B.C., and belongs to the third or fourth period of the reign of this king (see chapter one on the history of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in the work cited above).

The next important insertion is at Col. II 59, in the account of the works of Sippar, where the American cylinder mentions the building of E-ulla, which forms the principal account of the model. Of course we are prepared to expect this insertion as soon as we learn that the cylinder is later than AH. 82, 7-14, 1042.

What is most striking about the American cylinder, so far as it is permitted us to know it, is that in place of the secondary hymn of the model, section *h*, it has an entirely new hymn as follows: "The great gods joyfully beheld me and blessed my

¹ See KB. iii, 2, p. 30, and BA. iii, 539-542.

reign. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who gladdens the heart of Marduk my lord, regardful of the sacred places of Nebo favorite of my reign, am I. Esagila and Ezida, habitations of their lordship, abode of their love, with gold and silver and jewels of great value, huge cedar beams (I clothed)."

Here the collation of Mr. Ball ends in the midst of the secondary hymn and just before the most important part of the inscription. According to my count of lines, the last line of Mr. Ball's collation must be nearly the thirtieth line of the third column. It is very rare to find the principal section so low down in the third column. The highest number which I know for any line beginning with *i-nu-mi-šu* in this class of documents is the twenty-seventh line of the third column of the Grotfend inscription. However, the principal section must begin very soon after this section published by Mr. Ball. That a section of this kind must follow is evident from the position of the secondary hymn after the list of temples in foreign cities which always precedes the *i-nu-mi-šu* clause.

What can be the probable contents of the third column of this cylinder which is probably stowed away in some museum in America? That it will give us the account of some building not hitherto described at length is certain. We are also certain that it is a contemporaneous document and describes an event between the works included in the Wady Brissa inscription and 85, 4-30, or EIH. The work which falls in this period which we wish above all to know about is the building of the palace north of the Great Eastern Wall which is mentioned only by the brief section of 85, 4-30, 1 Col. III 11-29, and which is strangely absent in the last inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, i. e. the East India House inscription. I have demonstrated at length elsewhere that the redactor of EIH. has probably omitted mention of a palace outside the wall on account of his strong Marduk and national tendencies. But it is not likely that the redactor of the American cylinder had any such tendencies, as the secondary hymn does not betray any trace of the later Marduk development. It is barely possible that this cylinder will give us this account of the palace (now buried in the ruins of the mound Babil) where most of the best authorities locate the site of the famous Hanging Gardens. If such be the case, the document is of extraordinary interest.

The column may be an account of the building of the zikkurat of Borsa which was among the latest works of this king and of which we have the short document I R. 51, No. 1, and which is mentioned only by 85, 4-30, 1 Col. III 39 and EIH. Col. III 67. There is one more possibility, and that is the new palace within the walls described by EIH. VIII 27-IX 37; but this is unlikely, for both this inscription and 85, 4-30, 1 give this account at length.

It is likely then that this unpublished cylinder which has followed AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 so closely in its redaction contains either an account of the northern palace or of E-taš-me-imin-anki at Borsa. Let us hope for the former. It is remarkable for the fact that it is the last of all the documents of the great redactions which retained the *i-nu-ma* and *i-nu-mi-šu* formula. I had supposed that this form of document gave way completely in the latter days of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the pure historic forms of redactions of which Wady Brissa and EIH., especially the latter, are the best examples. But the existence of this cylinder proves that the form still existed in the schools of the scribes of Babylon in the last years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to be revived again under the succeeding rulers.